

~~SECRET~~ - EYES ONLY

~~SECRET~~ - EYES ONLY

-2-

I know your dilemma is to strike before the Cuban sites are operational or to risk waiting until a proper groundwork of justification can be prepared. The national security must come first. But the means adopted have such incalculable consequences that I feel you should have made it clear that the existence of nuclear missile bases anywhere is negotiable before we start anything.

Our position, then, is that we can't negotiate with a gun at our head, a gun that imperils the innocent, helpless Cuban people as much as it does the U. S., and that if they won't remove the missiles and restore the status quo ante we will have to do it ourselves -- and then we will be ready to discuss bases in the context of a disarmament treaty or anything else with them. In short it is they, not the U. S., that have upset the balance and created this situation of such peril to the whole world.

I confess I have many misgivings about the proposed course of action, but to discuss them further would add little to what you already have in mind. So I will only repeat that it should be clear as a pikestaff that the U. S. was, is and will be ready to negotiate the elimination of bases and anything else; that it is they who have upset the precarious balance in the world in arrogant disregard of your warnings -- by threats against Berlin and now from Cuba -- and that we have no choice except to restore that balance, i. e., blackmail and intimidation never, negotiation and sanity always.

Yours, \

/s/ Adlai S. Stevenson

Wednesday morning, Oct. 17

P. S. I'm returning to New York and can return, of course, at your convenience.

~~SECRET~~ - EYES ONLY

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652 SEP 12, 80, S/D AND TT

State 14K-77-1036
by MM DATE 9-12-78

Dear Mr. President -

I have reviewed the planning therefore and have the following comments for you:

As I have said I think your personal comments should deliver your messages to C and K. There is no disagreement as to C. as to K an emissary could better supplement the gravity of the situation you have communicated to Gromyko. And talking with K would afford a chance of fixing concerning his actions and objectives far better than correspondence through the "usual channels".

As to your announcement, recognizing it becomes imperative to say something soon, I think it would be a mistake at this time to disclose that an attack was imminent and that merely emphasizing the gravity of describing the facts, emphasizing the gravity of the situation and that further steps were in process would be enough for the first announcement.

Because an attack would very likely result in Soviet reprisals elsewhere - Turkey, Berlin etc - it is most important that you we know as much of the world

and universal understanding, that we are not the weak,
impotent and indifferent to the fate of others are, I realize,
only the position to gain.

I know your dilemma is to strike before the Cuban
sites are operational and to ^{note} mark a proper ground
mark of justification can be prepared. The national identity
must come first. But ^{the} means adopted ^{have} such
incalculable consequences that I feel you should have
made it clear that the ^{existence of} nuclear missile bases anywhere
~~is~~ negotiable before we start anything.

Clear position, then, is that we can't negotiate with
a gun at our head, and if they ~~and~~ ^{if} a firm that
imperils the innocent, helpless Cuban people as
much as it does the U.S., and that if they won't
remove the missiles and restore the status quo ante
we will have to do it ourselves - and then we
will be ready to discuss bases in the context of a
disarmament treaty or anything else with them.
In short it is they, not the U.S., that have upset
the balance and created this situation of such
peril to the whole world.

~~Dear~~ ^{Dear}

I confess I have many misgivings about the proposed course of action, but to discuss them further would add little to what you already have in mind. As I will only repeat that it should be done as a fait accompli that the U.S. was, in and out, be ready to negotiate the elimination of bases and ~~any other~~ form of anything else; that it is they who have upset the precarious balance in the world in arrogant disregard of your warnings - by threats against Berlin and now from Cuba - and that we have no choice except to restore that balance, ~~and~~ i.e., blackmail and intimidation never, negotiation and sanctity always.

Yours -

John F. Kennedy

Wednesday morning Oct 17.

P.S. Lin returns to Washington and soon returns, to course, at your convenience.